

Surára
Xiriana

/8 cont./

- 175
648 According to statements of old palm-fiber gatherers on the Aracá, no Indians appeared on this river from the end of the previous century to the end of the twenties of our century. During the months of October and November of the year 1927, palm-fiber gatherers on their way to their places of work saw for the first time small and relatively light-skinned Indians disappearing into the forest thickets. In December, 1927, and January/February, 1928, the settlements were attacked by Indians several times, but the palm-fiber gatherers always managed to put them to flight. During the forenoon of June 28, 1928, there was another attack during which two wives of rubber gatherers and a 12-year-old girl were abducted. After this abduction there was no further Indian attack. Not until 16 years later, in January, 1944, did six [439] Indians appear, but this time with friendly intent. They called themselves Surára and wanted to barter for articles of civilization. Later they admitted that their tribe had carried out the earlier attacks. In reply to questions about the two abducted women and the girl, they said that they had died. /9/ The palm-fiber gatherers did not bear them any malice for their previous hostile attitude, for they were glad that they could now carry on their work without fear of the Indians.

- 439 The Surára cling to their old habits and customs and visit the palm-fiber gatherers only when they want to barter for knives, [115] axes, pots, etc. According to the statements of the chief of the Surára, they are forced by the Xiriana to barter with the palm-fiber gatherers, for they are obliged to deliver to them all the articles obtained (see also pages 157/163); the Xiriana themselves never have any contact with the civilized inhabitants.

- 648 In August of the year 1944 the Indian protection post founded in 1940 on the Rio Demini was visited for the first time by some Pakidíi. At rather long intervals there have been further visits [619] by various families of this tribe up to the present time. They, too, however, come at the request of the Xiriana and must hand over to them all the gifts.

Surára
Pakidái

/73 cont./

764
171
For the types of burial of the Surára and Pakidái, which are undoubtedly very old and original, there are no parallels thus far in South America (334). This is true of the combined tree- and

(184)
334. Among the Waiká /Waica/, the corpse is cremated on the same day on the village square (Zerries, 1955b, p. 664).

fire-burial as well as of the earth burial of old people. A deceased member of the tribe, however, is only hung in a treetop for two or three weeks, so that his flesh will decay, before the bones are subsequently cremated.

765
171
175
The latter custom, albeit in the form of combined earth- and fire-burial, is, moreover, already mentioned in old sources. "Far inland," writes Barrère with regard to Guiana, "there are nations who assemble in order to dig out skeletons, when they think that the corpse is almost decayed, and after they have calcined these, they drink the ashes, which they soak in roucou, and they believe that they have thereby given their dead a more decent burial than if they left them to worms and putrefaction" (335).

335. Barrère, 1751, p. 172.

764
765
171
175
Similar reports are given by Froger about French Guiana (336)

336. "They have great respect for the old people, and when one of them dies, they inter him in the Carbet (Maloka) without any other ceremony than becoming very intoxicated: but when they believe that he is almost decayed, they assemble the Indians of the neighboring Carbets, dig out the bones, burn them, and take the ashes into their Oûicou in order to have a great feast" /translated from the French/ (Froger, 1715, p. 178).

Surára
Pakidái

175
764
765
171
[175]
/73 cont./

and by de la Neuville and Biet about some of the mainland
Karaiben /Carib/ (337). The Surára and Pakidái, on the other

337. Lafitau, 1724, II, pp. 444 ff.

hand, are of the opinion that the soul existing in the bones is
able to travel up to the moon only if the flesh has decayed before-
hand, and there is now nothing to prevent the soul's withdrawal.

The custom of hanging the corpse in the open until it de-
cays is also documented as early as the seventeenth century, but
not in connection with another form of burial. There are state-
ments about this by Coreal concerning the Chevelus (Amaguaxe
or Encabellados -- members of the Tukano /Tucano/ linguistic
family) who lived on both sides of the Putumayo: "They do not
bury their dead at all, but hang them in the open until the flesh
decays: after that they keep the bones as Relics" /translated from
the French/ (338).

338. Coreal, 1722, I, p. 292.

5. War -- nfanyu --

619
648
721
The Yanonámi /Yanoama/, as has been mentioned above
(see p. 13), are split into two antagonistic camps, the Xiríana
/Shiriana/ and the Waiká /Waica/, with their smaller satellite
tribes. There is constant, open hostility between these two "power
blocs," on the one hand, and toward outside enemies (Karaiben
/Carib/ and Aruaken /Arawak/) on the other. They accuse each
other of a propensity for thievery and /74/ attribute every sickness
and every death to sorcery on the part of members of hostile tribes.
Hence blood-revenge -- novú -- plays a very great role. The
chief cause of all wars, however, is connected with the fact that
they feel it necessary to abduct women and girls of hostile tribes
and groups, in order to bring new blood into their own tribal
unit. Since many tribes are comparatively small, increasing
relationship by marriage already requires exogamy to a certain

500 /188 cont. /

M but the extant data offer no certainty in this regard. It is interesting that Gheerbrandt (1955, p. 348) is of the opinion that the Makiritare had left the Uricuera some twenty years previously.

Y The Guadema seem to be different from the Casapare, according to what one can deduce from the above-mentioned book; probably it is a matter of a local Sanemá or Waica group.

10/ The center of distribution of the Sanemá is the basin of the Padamo River, a tributary of the upper Orinoco. Their territory is bounded on the south by Waica territory, on the west by the Makiritare of the Cunucunuma, on the north by the Makiritare of the upper Ventuari, Erebató, and Caura, and on the east by the little known territory of the Casapare.

Y If we judge from the present situation of the distribution of the Yanoama, it is quite probable that the first Yanoama with whom the Whites had contact on their trips along the upper Orinoco were the Sanemá, who appear in historical sources as the Guaharibo. One finds the Guaharibo frequently mentioned together with the Waica, but it is interesting that from the very first reports authors made a distinction between Waica and Guaharibo.

10/1 1775 101 /189/ Caulin (1958, pp. 305-306), writing in 1775, places the Guariha on the Maraca and its tributaries. According to him, they are white in color like the Spaniards and are the same "uaribas" already mentioned by the "Expedición de Solano." Humboldt also speaks of Guaicas and of Guaharibos, having met representatives of them in the Esmeralda Mission. Spruce (1908: 1, pp. 396-398), who met an old Guaharibo man on his trip on the Casiquiare, is the first one to leave us the fullest and most authentic information regarding the Yanoama of the upper Orinoco. According to this author, the Guaharibo call themselves Kudá-Kubui, but it is difficult today to decide whether these are Guaharibo or Waica. We have a like opinion regarding the Guaharibo of Chaffanjon (1889). It is possible that the Sanemá may have occupied zones farther toward the Casiquiare and the Cunucunuma, but the Arawak and Caribe of this zone occupied these places before the arrival of the Whites, and the boundaries were established by the tribes interested in them.

Surara
Pakidai

/83 cont. /

262 Great popularity was also enjoyed among the Surara and Pakidai
439 by the roasted manioc flour which they occasionally obtain from the palm-fiber gatherers by barter or from the Indian protection post on the Demini as a gift. They are unable to make it themselves because they do not have the large iron pans for it.

252 Various fruits of wild plants also need special preparation. The white seeds found in the pods of the pacova-sororoca (see p. 168) must be roasted before they are eaten. The taste, by the way, corresponds exactly to roasted maize. /84/ -- The fruits of the pot-tree (see p. 168) are first boiled, for which the women particularly liked to use my empty gasoline cans, and then cut open with the knife of tortoise shell (see p. 118). They are then poured into one or more of the large plaited baskets -- uarama -- (see p. 107) and hung for four days in the water on the bank of a stream, in order to remove the bitter substances. After that they are thoroughly rubbed by the women with their feet. These fruits, to be sure, occupy only a second-rank position in the favor of the "gourmets," but at least they fill the stomach. Moreover, I was assured that in olden times, that is, before the introduction of the banana, this fruit played a much greater role in the food economy.

263 All the foods mentioned are, as a rule, eaten without spices. Only now and then do some men and women add a little of their cultivated pepper, which is roasted beforehand. Not a single
[123] tribesman developed a taste for my salt, of which I had brought along several kilograms, assuming that the Indians would be pleased about it, and they had no interest whatsoever in acquiring any of it (400).

[46] 400. The amount of salt required by the body is supplied by the wood ashes with which the tobacco roll (see p.190) is mixed.

171 This aversion to salt is also found among many other tribes,
● 175 and in a report as early as the sixteenth century one can read the
263 following remark: "The forest people cannot use any salt, because it makes them ill, for they are not used to it; if they eat it, they

Surara
Pekida

263 /84 cont. /
[7]
[195]

almost always die within a short time" (401). Reference should

401. Taunay, 1921, p. 166.

also be made to a statement by Roquette-Pinto, in which he says that the Indians of the Serra do Norte reject all salted food (402).

402. Roquette-Pinto, 1919, p. 243.

There are, however, tribes among whom salt is valued to a certain extent. For example, Herbert Baldus reports about a Bororo who complained that he never got enough salt from the mission kitchen. Yet salt was previously unknown to these Indians (403). The Tapirapé and Karajá /Caraja/ also like salt

403. Baldus, 1937, p. 287.

very much (404), whereas among the Tuparí only the men like

404. Baldus, 1950, p. 14.

to use it; several women, on the other hand, not at all (405).

405. Caspar, 1953, pp. 133/34.

The following statement by Koch-Grünberg about the Arekuna-Taulipang is noteworthy: "In general, the Indians salt their foods little, but like salt very much and are glad to take it in payment for services rendered" (406).

406. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 49.

272

The number of beverages which are prepared from the nourishing fruit-meat of wild palms is abundant. Especially popular are the bluish açai and bacaba fruits (see p. 166) about as large as plums, which ripen between December-March. They

126
26
[15]
[14] Barker, a member of the New Tribes Mission, who visited a larger number of villages in the course of the 15 years he has lived among the Yanomano. Finally, on information [14] obtained from the Indians. Most of the Venezuelan Yanomano have not yet been contacted by outsiders, and informants' accounts necessarily must suffice to locate many of the villages. Thus, when I visited villages such as Mamaribowetedi or Patanow-tedi, I had the residents point in the direction of other, uncontacted, villages; I made compass readings of these bearings, noting also the number of "sleeps" required to reach these villages.

174 Fixing the location of old sites geographically was somewhat easier than determining the date of occupation of those sites. A limiting factor in my attempts to obtain [102] detailed chronological movements of particular villages was the poverty of the Yanomano language in indicating numbers. The language can express only three numbers: one (moni, mahu, dahiab), two (porakab), and more-than-two (bruks). In establishing dates of specific events, therefore, I have relied almost exclusively on my estimates of the ages of the Indians. By noting also their places of birth, I was able to estimate the length of time each site was occupied before being abandoned.

• 175 In reconstructing portions of the history of the five villages I have been guided by two historically known events. One event was the arrival of James P. Barker at Mahakodo-tedi in September 1950, the first foreigner to make sustained

- 175 Contact with a Yanomamö village on the upper Orinoco. Barker, a member of the New Tribes Mission, has been living continuously with the Yanomamö since 1950, except for an occasional furlough to the United States. Three months after Barker arrived at Mahakodo-tedi, the members of that village took in a group of refugees from another village, a village that had just been the victim of a treacherous feast. These refugees were the present residents of Monou-tedi and Bisasi-tedi, the two groups with whom I spent most of my time in the field. The treacherous feast invitation and the subsequent events will be outlined in detail below; suffice it to say at this point that the event was an important one in the history of these villages and its date is known (1951).

- 175 The second dated event was the abduction of a
648 Brazilian girl from her home in the upper Causabury area by
726 the members of two Yanomamö villages, Kohoroshi-tedi and Karawatari-urihi-tedi. The history of Nabäyoma ("woman of the foreigners"), as she was called by the Yanomamö, may be told briefly. The members of the village of Kohoroshi-tedi, a splinter group from Karawatari's village, moved down the Shukumöna-u and began to hunt in the area southwest of their new village site. Occasionally they came across signs of foreigners, whom they were interested in locating in the hope of acquiring steel tools. On one hunt the Yanomamö saw the foreigners and discovered their house. The Indians returned to Kohoroshi-tedi and the headman of the village, Ohiriwä, organized a raiding party, which also included men from

- 176 Karawatari's village.

648
[726]

The raiders attacked the foreigners at dawn but were driven off by gunfire; a number of the Indians were killed, among them a man called Hokohehewi, and some of the foreigners were allegedly hit with arrows. The Indians managed to capture a young girl, taking her back to Karawatari's village on the Shukumōna-u. Shortly after arriving at Karawatari's village, the abductors were in turn raided by another Shamatari village, then on the Upper Mavaca River under the leadership of Matakūwā, one of the two "original" Shamatari men. Karawatari's group had split from Matakūwā's group and was on hostile terms with it. The girl was taken by Matakūwā's men on this raid and brought to the Mavaca River. Matakūwā's village was on a branch of the Mavaca River called Kedebabōwe-i-u when Nabyoma was abducted from Karawatari's group. Zerries (1964:14) gives 1934 as the date of the abduction of Nabyoma, whereas Seitz (1963:21) places it a little earlier.

[573]
[552]

In Matakūwā's village, Nabyoma was given to Yoyonahi's son; he shot her with a barbed arrow for disobeying him and the girl fled into the woods to nurse her wound. At this time Matakūwā's group was on friendly terms with the residents of Patanowā-tēka (who are now living in three distinct villages and constitute the groups from whom most of my data were taken). On one of their visits, the residents of Patanowā-tēka found Nabyoma in the woods outside Matakūwā's village and took her home with them when they left after visiting.

* [621]
[571]

* 175
 (48) At Patanowā-tāka she was given to Husiwā, by whom she had two sons (Orakuwā and Kariunawā). The approximate date of her move to Patanowā-tāka is 1935; it could not be much later, because a war broke out between Watakuwā's group and the group at Patanowā-tāka shortly after this date, and no visitors went between these two villages after hostilities commenced.

* (62)
 (48)
 (92) When the Patanowā-tāka group separated into two villages, Nablyoma remained with the group that is presently called Patanowā-tedi. The two splinter groups entered into hostilities with each other shortly after they separated, and Nablyoma's husband, Husiwā, was one of the first casualties. Nablyoma, her co-wife (Shōrōkoma), and all their children fled from Husiwā's group and joined the other, cognate, group. Shōrōkoma, originally abducted from yet another Shamatari village, later returned to Patanowā-tedi, but Nablyoma stayed with Patanowā-tedi's enemies. In 1951 (53) when the treacherous feast was pulled on the group to which Nablyoma belonged and the group fled to Mahakodo-tedi for protection, Nablyoma was given to a man in Mahakodo-tedi, Nemoriwā, as part of the cost of the alliance.

(77) While Nablyoma lived at Mahakodo-tedi, Barker and his colleague, David Landon, discovered that she still remembered how to write her name (Elena Valero). They informed the authorities in Puerto Ayacucho that a Brazilian woman was living with the Ygnomā, presumably abducted by them from one of the settlements across the border, but

- 175 before action could be taken, Nabliyoma's new husband left
642 Mahakodo-tedi for his own village (Buinaböwei-tedi), taking
with him Nabliyoma, her two sons by Husiwä, and his own son
by Nabliyoma.

[649] The Salesian Mission in Puerto Ayacucho was authorized
to handle the affair and they sent a party of men to Buinaböwei-
tedi. The Indians did not wish to lose one of their women
and the Salesian Mission party had to resort to forceful but
prudent measures to recover Nabliyoma. She was returned to
her family in Brazil in late 1956. Remoriwä subsequently
made two unsuccessful trips to Brazil to find her.

- 174 As indicated above, the histories as I have recon-
175 structed them are no more than approximations as far as
geographical locations and dates of occupation of the various
sites are concerned. I am fairly certain, however, that the
events themselves are accurately reported, especially those
having to do with the warfare and raiding, because I obtained
virtually identical versions from several informants on dif-

- 173 ferent occasions. The Yanoamö are good historians when it
726 comes to warfare. They have to be, lest they accept invi-
628 tations to visit villages that have old grudges against them.
All of them, even young children, know who killed their rel-
atives and the circumstances in which the killings took place.
These are the subject of constant discussion in the villages.

- 124 The first few descriptions I recorded of the 1950-51 feast
173 in which my group was victimized by a Shamatari village were
obtained from young men who could not possibly have witnessed

101 This is also supported by ³⁰ meagre
175 historical evidence bearing on the aboriginal inhabitants
of this area. Several distinguished Europeans explored
portions of the area under consideration and all of them
were familiar with the existence of the Ygnomamö in the
Orinoco headwaters. None of them, however, reported that
Ygnomamö Indians were living in the Mavaca Basin. Alexander
[497] Humboldt, who ascended the Casiquiare Canal in 1800, dis-
cussed the area of the Mavaca headwaters as one frequently
used by Indians of the 'Portuguese Missions' as the route
between the Causabury headwaters to Esmeralda (on the Orinoco
River) by way of the Mavaca River. The aromatic seeds of
[499] the puchery laurel were seasonally gathered near Esmeralda
and sold in Brasil (Humboldt, 1281, Vol. 5, pt. 1,
pp. 308-9).

175 So well known was this route that Robert Schomburgk
427 intended to follow it in 1839 to reach the Rio Negro from
Esmeralda, hoping to avoid the 200 miles that the Casiquiare
route would have added to his journey. He was dissuaded from
doing so by the residents of Esmeralda, who, knowing both
the route and the seasonal variations in the river, assured
him that the trip would be impossible at that time of the
year (Schomburgk, 1840 :244).

Richard Spruce ascended the Paciba River, a branch
of the Casiquiare Canal that has its source near the Mavaca
River, in 1854 and found the upper reaches of the river
inhabited by several Aruak-speaking tribes (1908:425, 427).

200 The first evidence that the Ygnomamö had penetrated
2 [i.e. Shamaturi expansion south of the Orinoco R. - Analyst]

101 The first evidence that ³¹the Yanomamö had penetrated
• 175 the Mavaca Basin comes from a brief comment in Rice's

account (1921) of his exploration of the Upper Orinoco. His guide, a Baré Indian, told him that the 'Guaharibos' had killed his brother "... near the sources of the Umuaca."¹ There is no historical evidence that the Yanomamö occupied the Mavaca basin any earlier than this date (ca. 1915-20), save for scattered reports of unidentified 'wild tribes' alleged to dwell in these regions. My own data support this.

By 1925 the Yanomamö were reported to be raiding settlements along the upper Cauabury River and soon were raiding the north bank of the Rio Negro itself. The Brazilian
(648) settlers eventually abandoned this area because of the raids (Seitz, 1963:19, 20, 21; Zerries, 1964:14).

The historical evidence suggests, then, that the Yanomamö have entered this large area only recently. This is supported by the accounts given to me by the Yanomamö, who further describe the occupants of the area as Shamatari, a usage based in part on the historical interconnectedness of the villages that spread into the area, and in part on geographical considerations. Yanomamö villages unrelated to the original group led by Kayabawü (Shamatari) have entered this area, and their northern neighbors refer to them as Shamatari, even though these villages are not historically related to Kayabawü's and their members deny being Shamatari.

¹Ibid., p. 341.

CHAPTER V

THE HISTORY OF FIVE YANOMAMŮ VILLAGES

128
(114)

I shall briefly outline in this chapter the history of the movements of Bisassi-tedi, Monou-tedi, Patanow-tedi, M̄maribōwei-tedi and Rayabobōwei-tedi, including those movements during the fifteen-month period (November 1964 through February 1966) covered by my field work. The historical data I collected on village movements enable me to discuss the village histories from about 1875 to the present.

*628
*621
174
175
103
128

The first three of the above-mentioned groups lived together at one time and the present residents of these villages are closely related. The last site they occupied as one village was called Namowei-tedi, and for sake of simplicity I adopt this name in the discussion of their movements up to that point in time. Similarly, the last two villages of the five mentioned above have a common history, being called Paruritaw-tedi immediately prior to their splitting in 1960.

*621
*628
121
722
361

I wish to make several points in the discussion that follows. The histories indicate (1) that villages move only when forced to do so by raids from other villages; (2) that villages are structurally unstable and tend to split into factions because of internal disputes; (3) that the newly-established cognate villages frequently enter into hostilities with each other; and (4) that it is necessary to know the

Table 5: History of Namowei-tedi, Summarized.

Site	Dates of Occupation	Reason for Abandoning Site	If Village Split, Cause of Split	Relationships Between Cognates
Konata	1875-1900	Raids from Obotawā-tedi, Boretā-tedi, Bokgoiwā-urihi-tedi and Aramata-tedi	None	---
Vareta	1900-1910	Raids from Shihowā- and Husirawā-urihi-tedi	None	---
Namowei	1910-1920	Raids from Boretā-tedi	None	---
Hahoyaoba	1920-1925	Poor Soil	None	---
Patanowā	1925-1943 (1966)	Internal feud led to split and raiding between factions; site still occupied	Village size and frequent fighting within village	Strained at first, then hostile
Shihota	1943-1949	Raids from Patanowā-tedi	None	---
Mahekodo	1951-1952	Suspicion that their hosts planned to kill them	None	---
Kobou	1952-1953	Fear of Shamatari raids	Internal feuds over women	Friendly
Monou and Barawā	1954-1966 1954-1959	Barawā abandoned because foreigners invited Indians to move to Mavaca; Monou still occupied	None	---
Bisaasi	1959-1966	---	Village size and frequent arguments	Friendly

174
175
103
344
*621
*628
578
602

[Namowei-tedi Group]

146

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SO18 YANOMA SO18

Table 6: History of Paruritawā-tedi, Summarized.

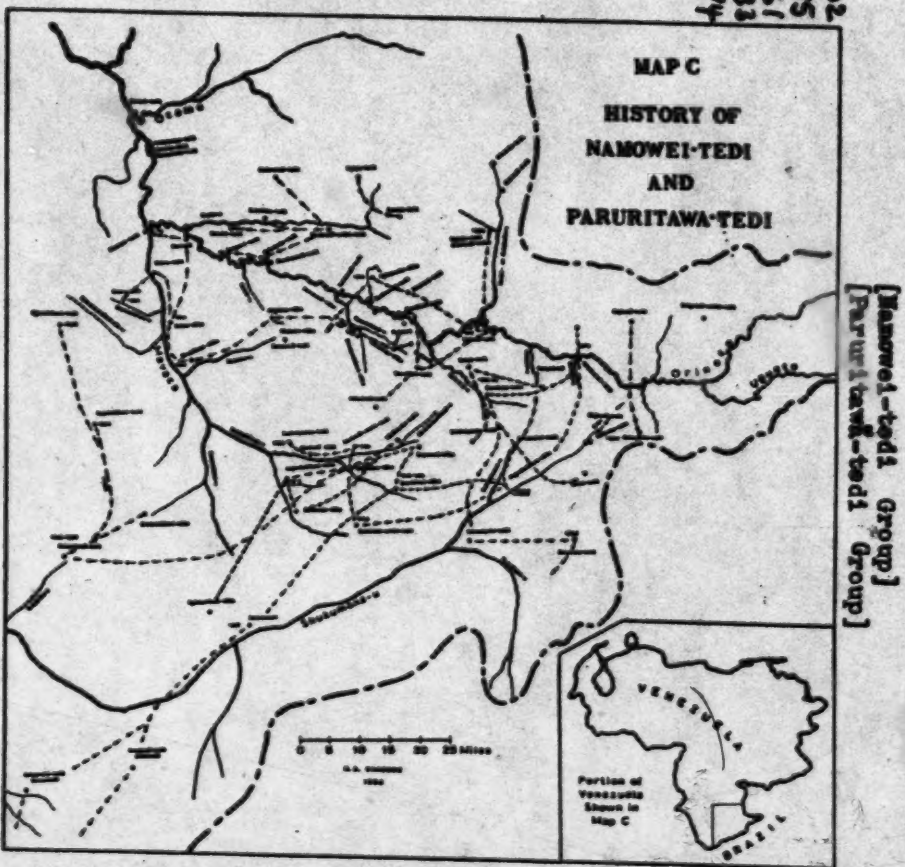
Site	Dates of Occupation	Reason for Abandoning Site	If Village Split, Cause of Split	Relationships Between Cognates
Pre-Aramamisi	? - 1880	Raids from Shihowā- and Mokayāba-tedi	None	---
Aramamisi	1880-1900	Raids from Shihowā-, Konabuma and Mokayāba-tedi	Feud over a woman	Hostile
Shirakobōwei	1900-1910 [1900-1966]	Internal feuds led to separation of several factions that raided parent group: Karehewā-, Matakūwā-, and previous enemies, Shihowā- and Mokayāba-tedi. Aramamisi-tedi group remained at Shirakobōwei after other factions left	a. 1900: Karehewā's faction left because of a feud over a woman. b. 1900: Waiyahowā's faction left for unknown causes. c. 1910: Matakūwā's faction left to aid Karehewā and to avoid raids from Shihowā-tedi.	a. Hostile b. Friendly; Waiyahowā's group was decimated by an epidemic and no longer exists. c. Hostile
Borabōwei	1910-1935	Raids from Karawatarī- and Aramamisi-tedi	Feud over a woman	Hostile
Kayurewā	1935-1940	Raids from Aramamisi- and Namowei-tedi	None	---
Konabuma	1940-1945	See next column	Feud over a woman	Hostile
Paruritawā	1945-1960	Raids from Sibarariwā's village (Mōwāraoba-tedi)	Minor internal feud	Friendly
Mōmaribōwei Reyabobōwei	1960-1965	Present locations	None	---

174
175
103
361
462
578
602

[Paruritawā-tedi Group]

10: Chagnon E-4,5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanama SQ18

102
175
361
133
174



122 marriage alliances on which I have complete data have taken
361 place between the Shamatari and the two villages of Monou-
174 tedi and Bisaasi-tedi. Over 50% of recently contracted
*628 marriages¹ that represent breaches of the marriage rule
583 preferences were the result of alliances between the villages
whose histories are given here. It is, accordingly, important
to understand the political and historical circumstances that
led to these alliances.

174 A. The History of the Namowei-tedi Group

• 175 The Namowei-tedi lived in four different areas between
361 ca. 1880 and 1943, splitting into two villages in 1943 shortly
*128 after they moved to their fifth location. I outline below
(621) the events that led to the abandoning of the first four areas
and discuss in more detail the activities of the villages
after they established their fifth location. I will treat
the Paruritaw-tedi group similarly in Part B of this chapter.

174 Area 1: Konata-tedi (See Map C)

175 While living in this area the Namowei-tedi were on
*628 friendly terms with several Shamatari villages, numbering them
*621 among their allies. The Shamatari as a distinct group were
(582) just coming into being between 1880 and 1900. Internarrriages
(583) between the Namowei-tedi and members of several Shamatari
villages occurred and a number of individuals in the present
villages of Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, and Patanow-tedi trace
descent back to Shamatari ancestors.

¹These data on marriages are taken from the villages
of Upper and Lower Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi.

150

174

[Namowei-tedi Group]

* 175 descent back to Shamata-i ancestors. Shihowē-tedi and its

* 628

* 621 splinter village, Mokayāba-tedi, were two Shamatari allies

of the Namowei-tedi in this period of the latter's history.

174

The Namowei-tedi got into a war with a cluster of

175

* 628 villages allied to Obotawē-tedi over a woman from the latter

721

village. The woman joined the Namowei-tedi against the wishes

583

of her own people. This led to a club fight between the two groups and, later, to a shooting war. Obotawē-tedi recruited aid from their allies, the Bokgoiwē-Urihi-tedi, Boretā-tedi, and Aramata-tedi while the Namowei-tedi were supported by the two Shamatari villages mentioned above. A number of men from each of the two groups were killed in the raiding that devel-

174

oped and several Namowei-tedi women were abducted. Obotawē-

175

tedi and their allies forced Namowei-tedi to abandon their

* 628

721 garden and take refuge with the Wareta-tedi, a group that had

241

722 just abandoned the area (ca. 1890-1900) occupied by the

Namowei-tedi because of a war with the Boretā-tedi. As the Namowei-tedi had not had time to make a new garden when the raiding became intense enough to force them to move, they moved into the village of Wareta-tedi and lived off the produce of the latter's garden.

Area 2: Wareta-tedi

174

* 628

726

The residents of Wareta-tedi had their own war with

Shihowē-tedi when they were joined by the Namowei-tedi, but

were on friendly terms with Husirawē-urihi-tedi, a village

000 to their north. The headman of Wareta-tedi, Shamaiyowē,

151
[Namowei-tedi Group]

The headman of Wareta-tedi, Shamaiyowā,

174 and some of his kinsmen went to visit their allies on the
* 628 latter's invitation, but Husirawā's group treacherously
574 killed Shamaiyowā and two of his followers. Not wanting to
527 participate in the raiding against their old allies, the
36
241

Namowei-tedi established a new garden and moved away from the Wareta-tedi. A number of individuals in the present

[581] populations of Patanowā-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi trace descent
[538]

back to the headman of Wareta-tedi, as the latter had demanded

[175] women in return for his protection. In ca. 1910 the Namowei-tedi moved to their new garden at Namowei.

Area 3: Namowei-tedi

174 This area is quite mountainous and the group took its
361 name from one of the ranges, Namowei-kākō--"sharpness."
722

241 They lived here long enough to make three different gardens
[333] (Makei, Shodemi, and Amatakō), but ultimately were forced to
[101]

[103] abandon the area because of renewed raiding from their old enemies, the Boreta-tedi. Having no friends to the north

[175] and several old enemies to the east, the Namowei-tedi moved west and established their garden at Hahoyaoba-tāka in ca. 1920.

174 Area 4: Hahoyaoba-tedi
361

* 628 The old allies of the Namowei-tedi, the Wareta-tedi,
* 621 were forced to abandon their site and move west. They

settled in the area immediately south of the Namowei-tedi, splitting into two villages (Hasabōwā-tedi and Ashadowā-tedi), and continued to remain on good terms with the Namowei-tedi.

152.

174
195
361
241
The new garden [Namowei-tedi Group] at Hahoyaoba-tedi did not produce satisfactorily so the Namowei-tedi established a new one south of the Orinoco River, Patanowā-tāka, and moved there about 1925-30.¹

174
361
621
Area 5: Patanowā-tāka

This site has a complicated history. The Namowei-tedi lived here as one group, abandoned it, split into two villages, and each faction returned to it only to abandon it again. Ultimately the site was reoccupied by one of these factions, and that faction presently lives there.

Most of the present generation of adults in Bisassi-tedi, Monou-tedi, and Patanowā-tedi were born at Patanowā-tāka.

174
622
726
Three important events took place while the Namowei-tedi lived at Patanowā-tāka. The first of these was the development of hostilities between the Namowei-tedi and a Shamatari village. As this Shamatari village figures prominently in the later history of one faction of the Namowei-tedi, I make a point of identifying it here: Sibarariwā's village, located on the Mavaca River. The approximate date of the initiation of these hostilities was 1938-40, an estimate based on the ages of older children born at Patanowā-tāka of women abducted from Sibarariwā's village. Up to the start of the war with Sibarariwā's group, the Namowei-tedi were on friendly terms with all of the Shamatari villages and visited a number of them regularly. Several marriage

[134]
¹This is the only case I have of a garden being abandoned for soil fertility reasons.

174 Several marriage alliances were developing between the Namowei-tedi and one of the Shamatari villages (Konabuma-tedi) when the war with Sibarariwā's group started, but these eventually broke down before any women were actually exchanged.

174
* 628
* 628 The second important event was the secession of a section of the Namowei-tedi from the main group and the development of hostilities between these cognate villages.

174
* 361
* 628
* 796 The third event, occurring somewhat later, was the initiation of hostilities between one of the Namowei-tedi sections (Patanowā-tedi) and villages to its north; this war is being conducted vigorously at the present time, and has dictated the movements of the Patanowā-tedi from the time it began until now.

174
* 628
* 761
* 721 In order, the particulars of these three events are, briefly: (1) The Namowei-tedi were on friendly terms with the Shamatari villages to their south and southeast for a number of years after they moved to Patanowā-tāka. However, several Namowei-tedi died in an epidemic (probably malaria) about 1940, and survivors attributed the deaths to the Shamatari, accusing them of practicing harmful magic against them. Shortly after the deaths occurred, a young man called Ruwahiwā, Sibarariwā's older brother, visited the Namowei-tedi. Mamikininiwā, who now lives in Monou-tedi, murdered Ruwahiwā with an axe while he rested in a hammock, thereby avenging the deaths of the people who died in the epidemic.

• (175) Shortly after Ruwahiwā was murdered, his village began mounting raids against the Namowei-tedi, but succeeded

154

[Namowei-tedi Group]

194 only in killing a man from Konabuma-tedi. This man was
 628 living with the Namowei-tedi while performing bride service.
 73 The Namowei-tedi reciprocated the raiding and captured many
 92 women. Some of these women are still living with the Bisaasi-
 153 tedi (Yanarima, Waiyuruma, Hekurama, and Hikarima) and the
 Patanowē-tedi (Ishinarima, Rubrobemi, Rōkuobemi, and Shiaoimi),
 one died of a snake-bite shortly after her capture, two died
 recently after reproducing in Patanowē-tedi (Reisimi and
 Brararama), and three escaped (Breiurama, Darama, and Boroama).

194 (2) Around 1940 the Namowei-tedi split into two factions,
 621 each making a new garden further up the Shanishani-u River and
 578 abandoned Patanowē-tēka. The move was stimulated by the fre-
 361 quency of fighting within the village: "We were many and were
 241 always fighting with each other," said one of my informants,
 155

"so we decided to separate from the others in order to keep
 peace." Both groups claimed ownership of the peach palm
 194 trees each had planted at Patanowē-tēka, and returned to col-
 245 lect the fruit each season from their new gardens. Ownership
 423
 628
 578 rules stipulate that peach palm trees belong to the individual
 who plants them. A man from one of the factions took the palm
 fruit belonging to a man from the other faction one year; the
 latter reciprocated by stealing plantains from the garden of
 the former, precipitating a club fight between the two vil-
 lages. The club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but
 the two groups parted on strained terms. The smaller
 194 (Brararabōwei) of the two factions abandoned their site, fear-
 361 ing that they would be raided by the other group (Wanidima),
 628

156

[Nanowei-tedi Group]

where. In 1949 they moved from Shihota-täka to Kreiböwei, a garden on the Shamata-u branch of the Mavaca River.

(3) The Wanidima-tedi began to split into three groups in the mid '50s: Rashawä and Waiyari were the two new gardens established by the factions of Wanidima-tedi. The separation was actually completed in so far as each garden was being exploited by one of the factions, but the three factions were forced to reunite when one of them got into a war with several villages from the north side of the Orinoco. The three groups abandoned their gardens and returned to Patanowä-täka, and became known as the Patanowä-tedi.

The war with the villages north of the Orinoco started when Yabitawä-tedi and Kashorawä-tedi men killed a man from Boretä-tedi in a club fight. The headman of Mahekodo-tedi, Shinanokawä, was married to the sisters of the Boretä-tedi man, and began raiding the Yabitawä-tedi to avenge his death. A man from Patanowä-tedi was doing bride service in the latter village and was killed by raiders from Mahekodo-tedi, involving the Patanowä-tedi in the war against Mahekodo-tedi. Shortly after this event, men from Yabitawä-tedi visited Patanowä-tedi and, finding the men gone, seized a young girl who was in puberty seclusion. The Patanowä-tedi then began raiding the Yabitawä-tedi, forcing them to take refuge with their allies, the Kashorawä-tedi. Hasaböwä-tedi, then an ally to both Patanowä-tedi and Yabitawä-tedi, took the side of the latter in the dispute and commenced to raid

157
 174 the Patanowē-tedi.¹ [Mamowēi-tedi Group]
 726 Thus, the Patanowē-tedi were surrounded
 *628 on all sides by enemies; only one village, Ashadowē-tedi,
 722 remained on friendly terms with them. Beyond the Ashadowē-
 tedi were the Shamatari villages, bitter enemies of the
 Patanowē-tedi since the killing of Ruwahiē.

174 By the time the Patanowē-tedi had gotten into this
 *628 situation, the war with their agnates had subsided. So the
 361 Patanowē-tedi moved west, into the area abandoned by their
 602 agnates, whence they harried the Hasabōwē-tedi and the groups
 722 north of the Orinoco. They attempted with some success to
 effect a rapprochement with their agnates, and a few indivi-
 duals from the Kreibōwē-tedi group visited the Patanowē-tedi.
 One of these individuals was able to obtain a wife in Patanowē-
 tedi, whom he subsequently took back to Monou-tedi with him.

361 The Patanowē-tedi are presently living between two
 *628 sites: Patanowē-tēka and Shamata-tēka, a situation forced on
 722 them by the hostile relationships they have with all their
 neighbors except the Ashadowē-tedi.

128 Area 6: Shihota-tēka

See "Area 5" point (2) above.

174 Area 7: Kreibōwē-tedi

• 175 This site was established in 1949. After fleeing
 361 from Shihota to avoid the raids of the Patanowē-tedi, the
 722

¹At this point the Patanowē-tedi returned to Patanowē-
 tēka from their three sites of Vanidima, Waiyari, and Rashawē.

158

[Mamowei-tedi Group]

174 Kreiböwei population was in need of an ally to aid them in
 175 their raids against Patanowē-tedi. Shortly after they moved
 361 to Kreiböwei they made friendly contact with a Shamatari
 722 village, then under the leadership of Riakowē, located on
 628 the Mavaca River. The Kreiböwei-tedi began visiting Riakowē's
 574 village and entered into feasting relationships with his
 followers.

174 Riakowē's followers were related to the Shamatari
 175 with whom the Kreiböwei-tedi were at war: Sibarariwē's vil-
 628 lage. Sibarariwē persuaded Riakowē to invite the Kreiböwei-
 529 tedi to a feast during which the two Shamatari groups planned
 574 to kill as many men as they could and abduct women. By doing
 723 this Sibarariwē would avenge the murder of his older brother,
 721 Ruwahiwē, who was treacherously killed about 10 years earlier
 by the Kreiböwei-tedi, when the latter lived at Patanowē-tēka.

The Kreiböwei-tedi accepted the feast invitation and
 174 went to Riakowē's village in the dry season (i.e., December
 175 through March) of 1950-51. Sibarariwē's followers, along
 628 with a party of men from Hasabōwē-tedi, were concealed in the
 529 jungle outside Riakowē's village. Shortly after arriving at
 574 the village, the Kreiböwei-tedi men were attacked by Riakowē's
 726 men with sharpened staves and axes, and eleven of them were
 132 killed. Those that managed to break out of the palisades
 748 were shot from ambush by Sibarariwē's followers, along with
 the Hasabōwē-tedi, resulting in the wounding of a large
 174 number of Kreiböwei-tedi men. Only six or seven women were
 175 seized by the Shamatari; but, the greediness of the Shamatari
 727

159

174
175
722
1724
103
241
1752
men for the Kreiböwei-tedi [Mamöwei-tedi Group] women distracted the Shamatari, and a large number of Kreiböwei-tedi managed to escape. These fled to a mountain called Wadubadidiobakakō where they had previously started clearing a new garden, Kobou-tāka. Here, the Kreiböwei-tedi removed the arrow-points from the wounded and regained their health. They returned to Kreiböwei-tāka, as their new garden had not yet begun producing. Shortly after the treacherous feast the Kreiböwei-tedi were visited by Shinanokawā, the headman of Mahekodo-tedi, and one of his followers, Shiroba-tedi. The two men had heard of the Kreiböwei-tedi's unfortunate circumstances and visited them to extend an invitation to join Mahekodo-tedi while they made a new garden.

Area 8: Mahekodo-tedi

174
175
721
*628
361
Before they left for Mahekodo-tedi the Kreiböwei-tedi undertook a revenge raid against Riakowā's group. They killed two men and then retreated to Mahekodo-tedi, collecting their women and children at Kreiböwei-tāka as they proceeded from Riakowā's village to Mahekodo-tedi. This was early in 1951.

174
175
361
241
*621
For the remaining months of 1951 the Kreiböwei-tedi worked on their garden at Kobou, returning to Mahekodo-tedi at approximately 3-week intervals to rest and obtain more plantains; these latter were carried to Kobou to sustain the Kreiböwei-tedi while they worked on their garden. Before Kobou-tāka was producing, however, the Kreiböwei-tedi decided

160

194
195 to split into two factions and make separate gardens. There
361 had been a number of club fights between the two factions
241 over women, and to prevent the escalation of these internal
*621 feuds the group split. Thus, two more gardens were started
194 (Mowou-tika and Baraw-tika) before the Kreiböwei-tedi left
195 Mahekodo-tedi to move into their new garden at Kobou. The
241 splitting of the group at Kobou was determined by other con-
*621 siderations as well (see p. 162). It should be noted here
578 that considerable fighting took place among the men when
361 the widows of the Shamatari victims were redistributed to
921 the survivors.

194
195 The Kreiböwei-tedi left Mahekodo-tedi as soon as
*621 they could. It was rumored that their protectors were
361 planning to treacherously kill their men and seize their women.
This rumor was later substantiated by members of a faction of
Mahekodo-tedi that split from the main group, who informed
the Kreiböwei-tedi several years later of the details of the
plot. The development of two wars involving the Mahekodo-tedi
[578] prevented the latter from carrying out their plan. Shibariv-
[721] tedi, a group that had earlier split from Mahekodo-tedi, began
raiding the latter, forcing them to move to the south bank
of the Orinoco River. Meanwhile, the Shamatari learned that
194 the Kreiböwei-tedi were taking refuge with the Mahekodo-tedi
195 and sent a raiding party there to avenge the deaths of the
*621 two men killed by the Kreiböwei-tedi after the treacherous
[721] feast. The Shamatari raiders succeeded in killing a man and
a boy from Mahekodo-tedi and abducting four women. Thus,

161

174
176
178
180
182
184
186
188
190
192
194
196
198
200
202
204
206
208
210
212
214
216
218
220
222
224
226
228
230
232
234
236
238
240
242
244
246
248
250
252
254
256
258
260
262
264
266
268
270
272
274
276
278
280
282
284
286
288
290
292
294
296
298
300
302
304
306
308
310
312
314
316
318
320
322
324
326
328
330
332
334
336
338
340
342
344
346
348
350
352
354
356
358
360
362
364
366
368
370
372
374
376
378
380
382
384
386
388
390
392
394
396
398
400
402
404
406
408
410
412
414
416
418
420
422
424
426
428
430
432
434
436
438
440
442
444
446
448
450
452
454
456
458
460
462
464
466
468
470
472
474
476
478
480
482
484
486
488
490
492
494
496
498
500
502
504
506
508
510
512
514
516
518
520
522
524
526
528
530
532
534
536
538
540
542
544
546
548
550
552
554
556
558
560
562
564
566
568
570
572
574
576
578
580
582
584
586
588
590
592
594
596
598
600
602
604
606
608
610
612
614
616
618
620
622
624
626
628
630
632
634
636
638
640
642
644
646
648
650
652
654
656
658
660
662
664
666
668
670
672
674
676
678
680
682
684
686
688
690
692
694
696
698
700
702
704
706
708
710
712
714
716
718
720
722
724
726
728
730
732
734
736
738
740
742
744
746
748
750
752
754
756
758
760
762
764
766
768
770
772
774
776
778
780
782
784
786
788
790
792
794
796
798
800
802
804
806
808
810
812
814
816
818
820
822
824
826
828
830
832
834
836
838
840
842
844
846
848
850
852
854
856
858
860
862
864
866
868
870
872
874
876
878
880
882
884
886
888
890
892
894
896
898
900
902
904
906
908
910
912
914
916
918
920
922
924
926
928
930
932
934
936
938
940
942
944
946
948
950
952
954
956
958
960
962
964
966
968
970
972
974
976
978
980
982
984
986
988
990
992
994
996
998
1000

Mahakodo-tedi became directly involved in the war against the Shamatari and needed the assistance of the Kreiböwei-tedi. This prevented them from killing the Kreiböwei-tedi men and seizing their women.

Makolima-tedi and Karchi-tedi, two allies of Mahakodo-tedi, assisted the latter in the revenge raids against the Shamatari; the Kreiböwei-tedi, of course, participated in these raids. On one raid they found Riakow's village abandoned so they burned down the houses and destroyed the garden: the plantains were cut down and the root crops dug up. The raiders pushed on, following Riakow's trail, and caught up with their enemies on the Shukunda-u River near the village of Karawatari-urihi-tedi where the followers of Riakow had fled to avoid the revenge raids from the Mahakodo-tedi. The raiders found Riakow swimming in the river, together with his son, a boy about 7 years old, and two of the girls, Kayoma and Waiimi, abducted during the treacherous feast. They killed Riakow and took all the children. On their way back to Mahakodo-tedi, however, the raiders were chased by the Shamatari, who managed to get ahead of them. The Shamatari surprised them the following morning, killing one man from Makolima-tedi while he slept. In the fighting that followed, the Shamatari lost another man.

The Kreiböwei-tedi and the Mahakodo-tedi unsuccessfully raided the Shamatari a number of times after this raid, but eventually discontinued the raiding when they concluded that they had chased the Shamatari out of the area.

162
[Nanowei-tedi Group]

Area 9: Kobou-tika

124
125
+ 628
241
361
722
[03] The Kreiböwei-tedi parted with their protectors as soon as this garden began producing. They lived at this site only long enough to complete their two new gardens at Monou and Barawé, moving into the latter when they, in turn, began producing. "Kobou" in Yagomamö means "let it go at that," or, in more vernacular terms, "to hell with that garden." Kobou was abandoned shortly after it was made, having served as a temporary base for the Kreiböwei-tedi while they completed their split. It would not have been necessary to complete the splitting of the village by making two new gardens had there been no war with the Shanatari. But, as one faction of the group made their garden elsewhere, the others were reluctant to remain at Kobou and bear the brunt of the revenge raids from the Shanatari. Thus, they too made a new garden. Again, it would not have been necessary to make Kobou-tika had Mahakodo-tedi been a dependable ally. But as the Kreiböwei-tedi suspected that their erstwhile protectors were plotting against them, they followed that course of action most expedient at the time. As they had already started Kobou, it was simply more practicable to complete that garden and move out of Mahakodo-tedi as soon as possible, rather than begin making two gardens and delay their move until these gardens began producing.

124
125
+ 628
Areas 10 and 11: Monou-tedi and Barawé-tedi

After separating into two groups the Kreiböwei-tedi

163

174
175
621
628
[Mamowei-tedi Group]
remained on good terms with each other. Their split occurred in 1954, perhaps a year earlier.

361
241
114
922
When I initiated my field work in 1964 Monou-têka was still occupied, but its population, the Monou-tedi, was in the process of making a new garden (Moyanabôwei) west of Monou to avoid the raids of the Pátanowê-tedi, with whom they had entered into a new war in 1964.

175
177
361
648
[621]
The faction that moved to Barawê remained at that site about five years. They moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River, taking the name Bissasi-tedi, in 1959, splitting into two villages, each located on opposite banks of the Mavaca River. By 1958 the Venezuelan Government had initiated a malaria-control program in this area of Amazonas and had established a small field station at the mouth of the Mavaca River. Venezuelans associated with this field station invited the Barawê-tedi to move to the Mavaca River; the Indians accepted the invitation, hoping to gain access to steel tools. This was the beginning of contact with outsiders for the Kreibôwei-tedi; prior to 1959 the only foreigners they had known were the missionary at Mahékodo-tedi, James P. Barker, and the members of the Frobenius Institute Expedition, Meinhard Schuster and Otto Zerries, who they visited occasionally at Mahékodo-tedi.

174
175
621
628
Area 12: Bissasi-tedi

The Bissasi-tedi began friendly contacts with a Shamatari village, Paruritawê-tedi, after they moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River.

164

000 mouth of the Mavaca River. [Nawowei-tedi Group] The Paruritawā-tedi had split
 174 from Sibarariwā's village about 1945, and had not been involved
 175 in the treacherous feast of 1950 in which the Kreibōwei-tedi
 176 lost so many men. The Paruritawā-tedi were still on good
 177 terms with Sibarariwā's followers, and the members of Monou-
 178 tedi and Bisaasi-tedi persuaded them to invite Sibarariwā and
 179 his group to a feast. Using their agnatic ties and existing
 180 friendship, the Paruritawā-tedi succeeded in getting the
 181 followers of Sibarariwā to accept the invitation, but a
 182 malaria epidemic prevented all but a handful of people from
 183 actually attending the feast: five men and four women. With
 184 the assistance of the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, the
 185 Paruritawā-tedi killed three of the guests and seized all
 186 four of the women.

By participating in this treachery, the Paruritawā-
 tedi subordinated themselves to the Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-
 187 tedi. At the present time the Paruritawā-tedi live in two
 188 villages, and are intimately involved in a bride-exchange
 189 network with the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, the latter
 190 two villages receiving more women (and men doing bride
 191 service) than they give. The Paruritawā-tedi have no other
 192 allies, as they are the front of the expansion into this
 193 region and the only villages to their east are allies of
 194 Sibarariwā. Despite the fact that they would like to make
 195 friendly contact with Sibarariwā's group again, the Monou-
 196 tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, as we shall see, prevent them from
 197 doing so by chicane and threat. Thus, Monou-tedi and the

628
583
Bisaasi-tedi are the dominant partners in the bride-exchange network with their Shamatari allies, a dominance that is reflected in the disproportionate number of women they have managed to coerce out of their allies.

361
621
114
While I conducted my field work the Bisaasi-tedi lived in two villages on opposite banks of the Mavaca River. The group on the east bank was beginning to split by the time I left the field, and the split took place a few months later,¹ one of the factions moving to the north bank of the Orinoco River, but still within view of the other group.

174
621
B. The History of the Paruritawē-tedi

The Shamatari came into being as an identifiable group shortly before 1900. The Shamatari identity, as I have shown above (p. 28 ff.), is a function of the historical connections between the villages that split off from Shihowē-tedi's parental group, as well as geographical considerations.

My informants consistently spoke of two 'true' Shamatari men: Kayabawē (Shamatari) and Matakawē. The villages of these two men have a common origin, but I was unable to get data on the nature of the events that led to the separation of these two groups. This event took place long before the life-span of my oldest informants, and none of them knew any details of the splitting. By 1875, however, there were two distinct Shamatari groups north of the Orinoco headwaters, one of which bore the name Shihowē-tedi. Kayabawē

195
101
361
¹Personal communication, James P. Barker.

167

[Paruritawā-tedi Group]

It will be immediately apparent that the Shamatari village histories are more complicated than the one outlined for the Namowei-tedi. This stems from the fact that the Shamatari villages had reached a large size by 1900 and began splitting into smaller groups earlier, in terms of the data I collected, than did the Namowei-tedi. In other words, the splitting that characterized Namowei-tedi's population from about 1940 to 1955 was occurring in the Shamatari population in 1900. Although I do not have census data on the numerous Shamatari villages that subsequently emerged from the two initial groups, I suspect that the numbers of people involved are significantly larger for the Shamatari village histories. Two factors seem to be the cause of this phenomenon. First, the Shamatari villages had access to steel tools in considerable numbers before Namowei-tedi's ancestral population did; my informants asserted that their first source of steel tools was the group called Shihowā-tedi. Presumably the size of the populations involved is a function of their agricultural potentials, and the Shamatari apparently expanded earlier than the Namowei-tedi because they had access to steel tools sooner. Secondly, the Shamatari population expanded unopposed into virgin territory, whereas the Namowei-tedi expanded into territory already occupied by other Yanomamō; it is significant to note that when the Namowei-tedi ultimately moved into unoccupied territory, their population seems to have increased, and the first split occurred only after virgin territory was colonized.¹

¹I am unable to explain how this affects demographic variables, but my data suggest that Yanomamō populations expand more rapidly when they colonize virgin land.

168
[Paruritawā-tedi Group]

Area 1: Aramamisi-kēkō

174
36
722
* 62
[124] Matakūwā's group settled here after abandoning their site north of the Orinoco because of wars with Kayabawā's group. The village at Aramamisi-kēkō, according to my informants (who could not possibly have remembered it from childhood), was immense. As the populations of the present villages of Yeisi-tedi, Nakiaiyoba-tedi, Aramamisi-tedi, Konabuma-tedi,¹ Iwahikoroba-tedi, Akawaiyoba-tedi, Mōwāraoba-tedi, Karawatari-urihi-tedi, Warabawā-tedi, Kohoroshi-tedi, Mōmaribōwei-tedi, and Rayabobōwei-tedi trace their origins to this single village, we must conclude that the village was indeed large in 1900.

174
175
36
* 62
* 978
* 623
721
726
A large segment of the population broke away from the main group and moved to the Rahuawā-u River, splitting into two groups after reaching that area. Their separation from the Aramamisi-kēkō population developed out of a feud over a woman within the village, and the feud escalated to mutual raiding after the separation was completed. The splinter group entered into friendly relationships with the Namowei-tedi and were their allies until about 1935, when a war between them broke out. The present villages of Konabuma-tedi, Yeisi-tedi, Nakiaiyoba-tedi, and Akawaiyoba-tedi are derived from the original faction that separated from Matakūwā's group. 174
175
* 621
* 628
361 The first three of these groups presently live in the Shukumōna-u basin, while the last one lives in the area abandoned by the

[103] ¹There were two distinct Shamatari villages that had the name Konabuma-tedi.

169

174
175
* 621
* 628
[122] others. Matakuwā's group was being raided by Kayabawā's followers and by the splinter group that separated from Aramawisi-kikō. These raids forced Matakuwā and his followers to abandon Aramawisi-kikō and settle at Shirakobōwei. This move took place about 1900, perhaps a few years later.

Area 2: Shirakobōwei

174
175
361
922
* 621
978
174
175
* 621
361
726
Matakuwā's followers established several sites in this area, as they were harried by the raids from Kayabawā's followers. An internal village feud developed between the factions led respectively by Karehewā and Orakawā. During the fighting a young man from Karehewā's group was killed with a spear, and Karehewā moved to the Mavaca basin. Karehewā's followers raided the group at Shirakobōwei, and the latter reciprocated, forcing Karehewā to move further north. Karehewā's son, Riakowā, became headman of this village and played host to the 1950 treacherous feast in which the Kreibōwei-tedi lost a large number of men. This village is presently called Iwahikoroba-tedi, and is led by Riakowā's son, Bōrōsōwā. In 1965 rumors reached the Bissasi-tedi that Iwahikoroba-tedi had split into two factions, both moving down the Mavaca River. In September 1965 I attempted unsuccessfully to make the first contact with this group, but my guides forced me to turn back when we began seeing signs (bridges and trails) made by Bōrōsōwā's group. They feared Bōrōsōwā would kill us.

174
* 621
361
Another faction, led by Waiyahowā, split off from

170

174 Matakūwī's group and returned to the Orinoco River area. An
361 epidemic later decimated this small group and the survivors
[731] were absorbed by other villages.

Finally, Matakūwī and his group separated from Orakawī and his faction and, in about 1910, settled in the Navaca basin. The group that remained at Shīrakobōwei retained the name Aramamisi-tedi. They later moved back toward the Orinoco River and are presently in that area.

Matakūwī and his followers separated from Orakawī's group for two reasons. First, Matakūwī decided to support Karehewī in the dispute over the death of a member of the latter's group. Secondly, Matakūwī and his faction wanted to escape the raiding from the Shīhowī-tedi, who continued to harass them. By taking the side of Karehewī, Matakūwī and his faction entered into hostilities with Orakawī's group and, as soon as the two groups separated, they began raiding each other.

Area 3: Borabōwei

174 Matakūwī and his followers moved here about 1910.
195 Raids mounted on them by their agnates, the Aramamisi-tedi,
361 forced them to make a new garden at Konabuma, and for a
628 number of years Matakūwī's group lived alternatively between
602 these two sites. Another garden was established at Kaurewī
726 after the raiding intensified; one raid on them by the
241 Aramamisi-tedi resulted in the destruction of their garden at Borabōwei, and Matakūwī's group fled to Kayurewī, temporarily abandoning Konabuma.

171

000 rarely abandoning Konabuma. [Paruritawā-tedi Group]

174
195
*621
578
361
Matakuwā's group had three factions. Oroshowā, a man belonging to Matakuwā's faction, took a woman away from her husband, a man from Karawatari's faction, leading to an internal feud. One man of Karawatari's faction was shot, and Karawatari split from the main group to establish a village of his own on the Shukumōna-u River. This split took place about 1925. Karawatari's group began raiding Matakuwā's village to avenge the death of Biawawā, the man killed in the feud. Karawatari's village later split for reasons I was unable to determine, and two factions separated from Karawatari's group to found their own villages: Warabawā-tedi, led by Hewariwā, and Kohoroshi-tedi, led by Ohiriwā. These last two villages are presumed to be in Brazil at the present time, as my informants assert that Kohoroshi-tedi includes bearded foreigners among its members, most probably Salesian Missionaries on the Causbury River.¹ In 1964 Karawatari's group lived on the Shukumōna-u River, as men from Rayabobōwei-tedi danced there that year. When the Rayabobōwei-tedi left Karawatari's village, they took a young woman (Dimorana) with them, thereby becoming enemies to Karawatari. The girl presently lives in Bisaasi-tedi.

174
361
722
In about 1935 Matakuwā and his group moved to Kayurewā to avoid raids from Karawatari and the Aramanisi-tedi.

*[628]
¹Warabawā-tedi, a part of Kohoroshi-tedi in 1934, and Karawatari's villagers were involved in the abduction of Nabiyoma.

[Paruritawā-tedi Group]

Area 4: Kayurewā

174
175
+628
726
861
The Aramamisi-tedi continued to raid Matakuwā's group at Kayurewā, so this site was abandoned in about 1940. Matakuwā's group had gotten into a war with the Namowei-tedi by 1940 over the death of Ruwahiwā, who was killed while he visited the Namowei-tedi at Patanowā-tāka. Ruwahiwā was Matakuwā's eldest son. After this incident, the Namowei-tedi actively raided Matakuwā's group at Kayurewā, and abducted a large number of women from them. Being raided by two villages, Matakuwā moved back to Konabuma, where his group had previously lived, because the peach/palms of that garden were still producing.

Area 5: Konabuma

174
+621
361
[622]
[101]
(578)
(721)
About 5 years after this site was reoccupied by Matakuwā's group, the group split into two villages. One of them continued to live at Konabuma, and was led by Matakuwā's son, Sibarariwā. The other group moved to a branch of the Shukumōna-u River and took the name Paruritawā-tedi, led by Weiamamowā. The split at Konabuma was caused by an internal feud over a woman. A club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but after the groups separated, they began raiding each other.

174
361
+628
722
175
Sibarariwā's group remained at Konabuma for a short time after the Paruritawā-tedi separated from them, but raids from the Namowei-tedi, the Aramamisi-tedi and the Paruritawā-tedi themselves forced Sibarariwā's group to abandon Konabuma

173

[Paruritawā-tedi Group]

and move to Kakamoba. This site was occupied for just a few years, and by 1950 Sibarariwā's group was living at Amārokobōwei: the 1950 treacherous feast for the Kreibōwei-tedi was conducted while Sibarariwā's group was here. After 1950 Sibarariwā's group fled south to avoid the raids of the survivors of that treacherous feast, establishing the garden of Dādamobōwei. This garden was abandoned because of raids mounted by the Paruritawā-tedi, and Sibarariwā returned to Amārokobōwei about 1955. The Paruritawā-tedi eventually became friendly to Sibarariwā's group and were able to lure some of them, at the instigation of the Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi, to a treacherous feast in 1960, during which three men were murdered and four women captured. In 1964 Sibarariwā's group moved to the headwaters of the Mavaca River, being known as the Mōwāraoba-tedi. Monou-tedi and [114] Mōmaribōwei-tedi sent a raiding party against them at this location about the time I started my field work, and killed one man.

Area 6: Paruritawā-tedi

The Paruritawā-tedi made friendly contact with the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi about 1960, and have entered into alliance with these groups. The Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi persuaded the Paruritawā-tedi to invite members of Sibarariwā's group to a feast in 1960 and, with the aid of the Paruritawā-tedi, murdered three men and seized four women. Sibarariwā's group avenged this by mounting raids

174

104
105
106
107
108
109
110
111
112
113
114
115
116
117
118
119
120
121
122
123
124
125
126
127
128
129
130
131
132
133
134
135
136
137
138
139
140
141
142
143
144
145
146
147
148
149
150
151
152
153
154
155
156
157
158
159
160
161
162
163
164
165
166
167
168
169
170
171
172
173
174
175
176
177
178
179
180
181
182
183
184
185
186
187
188
189
190
191
192
193
194
195
196
197
198
199
200
201
202
203
204
205
206
207
208
209
210
211
212
213
214
215
216
217
218
219
220
221
222
223
224
225
226
227
228
229
230
231
232
233
234
235
236
237
238
239
240
241
242
243
244
245
246
247
248
249
250
251
252
253
254
255
256
257
258
259
260
261
262
263
264
265
266
267
268
269
270
271
272
273
274
275
276
277
278
279
280
281
282
283
284
285
286
287
288
289
290
291
292
293
294
295
296
297
298
299
300
301
302
303
304
305
306
307
308
309
310
311
312
313
314
315
316
317
318
319
320
321
322
323
324
325
326
327
328
329
330
331
332
333
334
335
336
337
338
339
340
341
342
343
344
345
346
347
348
349
350
351
352
353
354
355
356
357
358
359
360
361
362
363
364
365
366
367
368
369
370
371
372
373
374
375
376
377
378
379
380
381
382
383
384
385
386
387
388
389
390
391
392
393
394
395
396
397
398
399
400
401
402
403
404
405
406
407
408
409
410
411
412
413
414
415
416
417
418
419
420
421
422
423
424
425
426
427
428
429
430
431
432
433
434
435
436
437
438
439
440
441
442
443
444
445
446
447
448
449
450
451
452
453
454
455
456
457
458
459
460
461
462
463
464
465
466
467
468
469
470
471
472
473
474
475
476
477
478
479
480
481
482
483
484
485
486
487
488
489
490
491
492
493
494
495
496
497
498
499
500
501
502
503
504
505
506
507
508
509
510
511
512
513
514
515
516
517
518
519
520
521
522
523
524
525
526
527
528
529
530
531
532
533
534
535
536
537
538
539
540
541
542
543
544
545
546
547
548
549
550
551
552
553
554
555
556
557
558
559
560
561
562
563
564
565
566
567
568
569
570
571
572
573
574
575
576
577
578
579
580
581
582
583
584
585
586
587
588
589
590
591
592
593
594
595
596
597
598
599
600
601
602
603
604
605
606
607
608
609
610
611
612
613
614
615
616
617
618
619
620
621
622
623
624
625
626
627
628
629
630
631
632
633
634
635
636
637
638
639
640
641
642
643
644
645
646
647
648
649
650
651
652
653
654
655
656
657
658
659
660
661
662
663
664
665
666
667
668
669
670
671
672
673
674
675
676
677
678
679
680
681
682
683
684
685
686
687
688
689
690
691
692
693
694
695
696
697
698
699
700
701
702
703
704
705
706
707
708
709
710
711
712
713
714
715
716
717
718
719
720
721
722
723
724
725
726
727
728
729
730
731
732
733
734
735
736
737
738
739
740
741
742
743
744
745
746
747
748
749
750
751
752
753
754
755
756
757
758
759
760
761
762
763
764
765
766
767
768
769
770
771
772
773
774
775
776
777
778
779
780
781
782
783
784
785
786
787
788
789
790
791
792
793
794
795
796
797
798
799
800
801
802
803
804
805
806
807
808
809
810
811
812
813
814
815
816
817
818
819
820
821
822
823
824
825
826
827
828
829
830
831
832
833
834
835
836
837
838
839
840
841
842
843
844
845
846
847
848
849
850
851
852
853
854
855
856
857
858
859
860
861
862
863
864
865
866
867
868
869
870
871
872
873
874
875
876
877
878
879
880
881
882
883
884
885
886
887
888
889
890
891
892
893
894
895
896
897
898
899
900
901
902
903
904
905
906
907
908
909
910
911
912
913
914
915
916
917
918
919
920
921
922
923
924
925
926
927
928
929
930
931
932
933
934
935
936
937
938
939
940
941
942
943
944
945
946
947
948
949
950
951
952
953
954
955
956
957
958
959
960
961
962
963
964
965
966
967
968
969
970
971
972
973
974
975
976
977
978
979
980
981
982
983
984
985
986
987
988
989
990
991
992
993
994
995
996
997
998
999
1000

against the Paruritawā-tedi, and the latter abandoned their site and moved north. When they abandoned Paruritawā-tedi, the group split into two factions, each making a separate garden: M̄maribōwei and Reyabobōwei. The two factions are still on friendly terms with each other and both are allied to the Monou-tedi and the Bisasasi-tedi. The Reyabobōwei-tedi are presently attempting rapprochement with Sibarariwā's group, and are being forced by their allies, the Monou-tedi and the Bisasasi-tedi, to use their newly established friendship to effect another treacherous feast. In February 1965 the Reyabobōwei-tedi succeeded in inviting Sibarariwā's entire village to a feast and were intending to trick them after they arrived. However, one of the individuals met Sibarariwā's group half-way and warned them of the treachery, frustrating the attempt by the Bisasasi-tedi, the Monou-tedi, and the Paruritawā-tedi to get their revenge on Sibarariwā's group.

C. The War Pattern From November 1964 to February 1966

721
[198] The effects of raiding and internal feuds on village composition, stability, splitting, and relocation that I have described above may also be observed among these villages at [114] the present time. Raiding was intense during my field work. Patanowā-tedi, for example, was raided at least 25 times while I was in the field, raids that were mounted by a dozen [722] different villages. Not all the raids were successful, but the frequency of the raiding was so high that it was never safe for the Patanowā-tedi to venture away from the village.